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# THE JERUSALEM POST

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**DUBEK FILTER**  
 WITH THE DICO FILTER

## Baghdad Expels UAR Embassy Secretary

A United Arab Republic diplomat has been ordered to leave Iraq after alleged anti-state activities, Baghdad Radio announced yesterday.

The radio identified the diplomat as Tewfik Sulaiman Ababa, Second Secretary at the U.A.R. Embassy. It said he had been told to leave within 24 hours.

The Iraqi Foreign Ministry was said to have informed the U.A.R. Embassy that it had been proved the Second Secretary was carrying out anti-state activities.

The Iraqi Government found itself obliged to ask the Embassy to withdraw the Secretary in question and that he should leave Iraq within 24 hours, the statement said.

In Cairo, the newspaper "Al-Ahram" claimed yesterday that British agents were "plotting anew in Iraq against the U.A.R." and had furnished arms to certain tribes on the Syria-Iraq border.

## Cairo Threat To Blockade Eilat

WASHINGTON (INA)—Cairo Radio is broadcasting to the Near East that the U.A.R. plans a campaign to close the Gulf of Akaba to Israel commerce.

The broadcast said the U.A.R. delegate to the U.N. Legal Committee has been instructed to demand that the Gulf of Akaba be kept in "harmony" with "workings in harmony" with "Arabia and other Arab states which are launching an 'information campaign'."

## Israel, Jordan Agree on Beduin

Jerusalem Post Political Reporter

Agreement was reached in the Israel-Jordan Mixed Armistice Commission yesterday on the transfer from Jordan to Israel on the Sarabin clan of the Azazneh Beduin tribe.

The agreement followed the Israeli proposal to admit the Beduin, made at last Wednesday's M.A.C. session "notwithstanding the fact that no proof was produced to uphold the claimant claim of the Beduin's former permanent residence in Israel. Israel's proposal was made in line with her declared policy of cooperation and maintaining good relations with her neighbors.

Israel's readiness to accept the Beduin with their belongings is to be considered a one-time gesture without prejudice to her position, the Israeli representative at the M.A.C. said. He added that Israel had acted on the understanding that with this gesture of goodwill the matter was settled.

Yesterday's concluding statement of the M.A.C. (Continued on Page 3, Col. 1)

## Shah and Hussein Confer on M-E

AMMAN (Reuters). — The Shah of Persia and King Hussein of Jordan met twice yesterday on the first day of the Shah's four-day state visit to Jordan. They are believed to have discussed the mutual interests of their two countries and recent developments in the Arab world and the Middle East.

Political observers here believe the two monarchs will also discuss developments in Iraq, Communist threats in the Middle East, and measures to strengthen cooperation between the two countries in this field.

The Shah's visit, the first to be made to Jordan by a Persian monarch, will be marked also by a joint cultural agreement and the raising of their diplomatic representations to ambassadorial level.

The Shah, who was greeted with a 21-gun salute on his arrival yesterday morning, was visited by King Hussein at Bauman Palace. The Shah repaid the visit to Hussein in Zafra Palace.

The latter meeting lasted half-an-hour and was attended by Hazza Majali, the Jordan Prime Minister.

## Jordanians Arrest 17-Year-Old Hiker

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Yehuda Paker, 17, of kibbutz Yiftah in Erez Yisrael, was arrested on Sunday by Jordanian security forces while on a lone hike on Gilead mountain, near the Israel-Jordan border.

The Jordanian authorities yesterday notified U.N. observers of the arrest, alleging the boy attempted to cross the border into Jordan.

An Israeli police investigation in the area, following the Jordanian report, revealed that Yehuda Paker had left his kibbutz Sunday morning for a day's hike and failed to return.

Israeli representatives on the Israel-Jordan M.A.C. have requested the boy's release.

DAVID BEN GURION

## To the Citizens of Israel

The choice in today's elections lies between our road, representing the chief power of the people and the irresponsible, confused road taken by dozens of small split factions.

The difference between our road and that of our opponents is this:

1. We favour an integrated Jewish nation; we oppose communal separatism.
2. We favour freedom of conscience and religion, and the fulfilment of religious needs by the State; we oppose the use of religion as a political weapon, for purposes of religious and anti-religious compulsion.
3. We favour any creative enterprise—private, labourite or governmental—but are opposed to private profit monopolies.
4. We want peace with our neighbours; we oppose the eternal enmity declared by Herut to last, as it were, until the Arab peoples present us an Israel stretching to the Euphrates on a silver platter.
5. We favour a foreign policy in line with the needs of Israel and world Jewry; we oppose any slavish adoption of "revolutionary" slogans advocated by the factions of the Left.
6. We favour a society based on freedom, equality, tolerance, mutual aid and a love of humanity. We are opposed to a regime promoting class distinctions, exploitation and deprivation.
7. We favour the constituency election system, because it ensures maximum national solidarity and maximum responsibility on the part of the government and the opposition. We oppose proportional elections because they promote splinter factions, disunity, blackmail and a lack of responsibility among the smaller parties, whether in the coalition or the opposition.

It was the road we chose that brought about the Declaration of the State, our victory in the War of Liberation, the Aliyah of a million Jews, the establishment of 450 new villages, the formation and organization of the Israel Defence Forces, the construction of 225,000 new apartment units for new immigrants and old timers, the development of many areas in Galilee, the South and the Negev where a quarter of a million Jews are now settled, the Sinai campaign which increased our security, our honour and the glory of our armed forces throughout the world and assured the freedom of navigation from and to Eilat; the introduction of free, compulsory education in elementary schools, and, to a growing extent, in secondary schools as well; ever growing recognition of Israel among the nations.

The support of the majority will enable us to continue the task of promoting the progress of our State, of the nation, of each and every Israeli.

You, the voters, must decide.

DAVID BEN-GURION



Section of Jaffa Road, showing part of the 40,000 people who lined the street to pay their last respects to Mayor Gershon Agron.

## NATION PAYS HOMAGE AT FUNERAL OF GERSHON AGRON

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The State of Israel and the City of Jerusalem yesterday paid final homage to Mayor Gershon Agron, who was laid to rest in the Har Hameinuhot cemetery, high on a hill commanding a beautiful view of the city he loved.

The funeral procession, which stretched for hundreds of metres along Jaffa Road, included persons of every rank and from every walk of life, from President Ben-Zvi and Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion to casual labourers, who came in their work clothes with a knitted kerchief on their heads. More than 40,000 mourners lined the streets.

Shortly before 1 p.m., the leaders of the Nation and of the Capital gathered in the Municipal Hall to pay their last respects. They stood at the bier which held the coffin, draped with a Israeli flag, and a golden Lion of Judah in its centre. The coffin was surrounded with wreaths of flowers.

Cantor Israel Genot chanted psalms, and Mr. Daniel Agron, only son of the Mayor, recited kaddish.

Members of the Council then carried the coffin to the entrance of the Municipal Hall, where it was placed on a platform, clearly visible to the thousands of persons who lined the streets and who filled the nearby balconies and rooftops.

Mr. Moshe Sharett, M.K., then paid tribute to the Mayor. After Mr. Sharett, Cantor Israel Bar-Zakai chanted psalms. Mr. Daniel Agron recited kaddish and Cantor Bar-Zakai chanted El Male Rahamin.

The coffin was then borne by members of the Local Authorities Union, headed by Mayor Haim Levranon and Abba Khoushy of Tel Aviv and Haifa respectively, and other mayors, including the minister of Beit Safafa. The coffin was placed in an open hearse, covered with wreaths.

Ahead of it marched 2,000 Jerusalem schoolchildren of the eighth grade. At the children reached King George Avenue, the end of the procession was still passing the Municipality hall a kilometre behind. Flags along the route were lowered to half mast. A brief halt was made at the corner of the street leading to the offices of The Jerusalem Post.

The hearse was followed by Mrs. Ethel Agron, wife of the Mayor; his son, Daniel; and his daughter, Varda.

Next came the President and Mrs. Ben-Zvi; Mr. Nahum Nir, the Knesset Speaker; Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion; Chief Rabbi Nissim; Justice Olshan, President of the Supreme Court; Members of the Jerusalem Municipal Council; the Foreign Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir; Finance Minister Levi Eshkol; the Minister for Religious Affairs, Rabbi Y. Toledano; Minister of Agriculture, Kadish Luz; Minister of Justice, Pichas Rosen; Minister of Education, Zalman Aranne; Minister of Police, Behor Shitrit; and Minister of Development, Mordecai Bentov.

They were followed by members of the Jewish Agency Executive, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Mr. Zalman Shazar and Dr. Dov Joseph.

The diplomatic and consular representatives included Mr. Ogden Reid, the American Ambassador, as well as the (Continued on Page 3, Col. 2)

## 'Journalist And Public Servant'

Mr. Moshe Sharett said at the funeral:

This shocking tragedy has robbed us of a man incomparably dear to us. It has robbed a fine family of its beloved father and has robbed many of us of a cherished friend; it has deprived the capital of Israel of its head and crown.

We are bereaved of a man at the peak of his strength and ability, a man bursting with energy, initiative and imagination, a man with the ability to revitalize and to create.

And not only this, but he possessed the characteristics of a hard worker and an outstanding executive. He was a man of deep sympathy and understanding, stout-hearted, devoted with all his soul to his family, faithful and kind to his friends, a radiant personality such as is not often seen, a man entirely devoted to his fellow-men, endowed with a fine aesthetic sense.

Deep Roots in Judaism

His roots were deep in Judaism. In his youth, he was captivated by the magic of the illustrious and devoted personality of Shemaryahu Levin, his great mentor in Zionism.

He was a journalist and editor without peer. In the struggle against the White Paper and the regime of oppression set up to defend it, he proved to be a courageous and devoted leader, a proud leader of the Jewish people, who stood against the enemies. The battle then fought by The Palestine Post is engraved in the memory of all who witnessed it and who participated in it. It was a courageous and honoured paper and its courage was demonstrated during the siege. This English-language newspaper in Jerusalem served as an effective weapon, a paper which was proud of its Jewish heritage and its Jewish consciousness.

Wider Field

Journalism was too restricted a field for his creative spirit. His desire for public service found expression in his election as Mayor. Gershon Agron was an outstanding example of personal and public integrity, of fairness in his relationships with others, of the upholding of principles, a propagator of culture.

The signs of his leadership are recognizable in his reviving the city's economy, in beautifying the city, of his developing a public spirit and awareness of the city as the Capital of Israel and a beacon to the Diaspora and the entire world.

His appearance at international forums increased the glory of the Capital and the State.

How many and important were the deeds still ahead of him! He merited many years of blessed activity and then a peaceful retirement.

It is shocking that he should have been cut down at the peak of his powers.

## 1.2 Million Israel's May Vote Today for Knesset, Local Councils

### Sabbath-Eve Quiet In Jerusalem

A Sabbath-evening atmosphere prevailed in Jerusalem on Monday night, although even before the 7 p.m. deadline, when electioneering officially ended, there had been little political activity.

The Jerusalem District Committees for the Knesset and municipal elections both reported "no problems". By evening most of the ballot boxes had already been distributed to the polling stations. There are 157 stations in Jerusalem for the municipal elections and 219 in the Jerusalem District, which covers the Capital, the Jerusalem Corridor, Lachish and Adullam, will be counted during the night in the Artists House. The ballots for the municipal election will be counted in the Town Hall.

As elsewhere, voting in Jerusalem for the Knesset and the Municipality will take place in separate rooms, though in a few large halls the two polling stations will be separated only by a partition.

There are 95,921 eligible voters for the Jerusalem municipal elections. Mr. Ya'acov Shreibaum and Dr. Zvi Radai, of the Municipal Elections Committee, told The Post. The figure differs slightly from the number of those eligible to vote in the Knesset elections. This is because a resident who is not an Israeli citizen may vote in the municipal elections; while there are a number of persons who cannot vote in Jerusalem for the Knesset because they were not residents of the city on December 31, 1953, the date of the municipal elections. Mr. S. Toussia-Cohen, Chairman of the Jerusalem District Elections Committee, was unable to give the actual number of eligible voters for the Knesset.

Mapai yesterday cancelled all its public election meetings set for December 10, one at which Foreign Minister Golda Meir was scheduled to speak, because of the mourning for the late Mayor, Gershon Agron.

The Dutch Ambassador, Mr. J. Q. van der Meer, who was in Jerusalem for the funeral, said that he was particularly glad to be presenting his letters of accreditation on the day commemorated both by the first President of Israel, Prof. Chaim Weizmann, and the Balfour Declaration of 1917, which favoured the setting up of a National Home for Jews in Palestine.

The Ambassador said that the British Government watched with sympathy and friendship the impressive achievements of the State of Israel.

In his reply, the President said that the realization of peace and progress in the area had always been a "guiding principle of Israel's policy and we persist in our faith in its eventual fulfilment."

The Knesset Internal Affairs Committee at its session yesterday expressed its profound grief over the death of the Mayor and sent its condolences to the bereaved family and the Jerusalem Municipality.

In addition to those already reported, messages were received from the Ministers of Agriculture, Interior, Commerce and Industry, Health, Transport and Religious Affairs.

Mrs. Rose L. Halprin, Acting Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency in New York, stated, "A man of singular courage, integrity and devotion to the people and to the upbuilding of Israel, Gershon Agron embodied the finest pioneering tradition of the Zionist movement."

The Chief of Staff, Rav-Aluf Haim Laskov, sent a message to Mrs. Agron, and the Director-General, the Ministry of Defence, A. Ben-Nathan, sent a message to Daniel Agron, as did Aluf-Mishne Aher Feled and Aluf-Mishne Binyamin Cohen. Aluf-Mishne Haim Herzog and Mrs. Herzog sent a message to the family.

Messages were received (Continued on Page 3, Col. 2)

### Haifa Has No Sign Of Election Fever

HAIFA.—Were it not for the multi-coloured posters and leaflets very much in evidence and the several thousand nervous party workers who were working up into Election Day has arrived. All is calm, as was the whole of the election campaign in Haifa. Residents could not be worked up into election fever and only one minor incident at a meeting on Saturday marred the otherwise clean record.

Mr. Zvi Kadashi (Herut), Chairman of the Haifa District Election Committee, said that its work had been marked by mutual understanding and compromise. Every issue had been resolved without having to resort to a vote.

The heavy sharrow brought the workers to the shore in the afternoon, and many plan to be back after casting their ballots today.

However, many of those interviewed did not know about this. The busy party workers (Continued on Page 3, Col. 2)

### West Divided Over Own Summit Talks

LONDON.—Responsible British sources disclosed yesterday that a battle is still going on between the allies about the Western summit meeting set for December 10, one at which Foreign Minister Golda Meir was scheduled to speak, because of the mourning for the late Mayor, Gershon Agron.

The French President, Gen. de Gaulle, is reported to be in favour of limiting the talks to the U.S., Britain, France and Germany. But some of the smaller NATO countries—apparently with British backing—object that this would keep them out of any way in Western policy decisions.

It was also reported that Russia is continuing to press for an East-West conference as soon as possible after the New Year. The matter has been discussed with the Russians through "diplomatic channels" in the past few days, according to reliable sources in London.

The Italian Prime Minister, Mr. Antonio Segni, and Foreign Minister Giuseppe Pella, will make a three-day official visit to London starting on December 1. It was announced in Rome last night. (UPI, Reuters)

### Unnecessary Expenses

TEL AVIV.—The unseasonable sharrow weather forecast for today has caused more perspiration in the parties' campaign headquarters for fear that voters will stay at home. All the parties have mobilized as many paid and voluntary workers as possible to bring the electors to the polling stations. The main rush is expected after sundown.

The arrangements made by the Central Election Committee are running smoothly and all equipment and material for the voting stations has been distributed under police guard. The Committee has mobilized 250 Government vehicles and hired 125 cars, buses and tenders to transport personnel and material.

Nearly all the taxis in town have been hired for the day. Prices range from IL7.50 to IL10 an hour. The Communists offer the highest prices, a taxi driver related.

Mapai has mobilized 50,000 volunteers. Herut some 20,000, the National Religious Party 10,000, and the Progressive Party 5,000. Abud Ha'avoda has mobilized the hundreds of vehicles and 6,000 members of the Kibbutz Hameuhad settlements. A general round-up of members and vehicles belonging to Hakibbutz Ha'arzi settlements has been made by Mapai.

Mr. Y. Almogi, M.K., issued an appeal to party campaign workers to keep order—and their tempers—on election day. He regretted that Abud Ha'avoda, Mapai and Herut refused to join with the other parties in an appeal to party workers to maintain order on polling day.

SHARAV TODAY

Sharav conditions, which affected most parts of the country on Monday, are forecast to continue today, with temperatures in some places even a degree or two higher than yesterday. In Jerusalem the mercury is expected to rise to 30 degrees while in Tel Aviv it will be around 35 degrees mark.

In Jerusalem it will be 34 in Tiberias 35 and in Eilat 38.

### After Midnight

The U.N. main political committee last night adopted unanimously an unprecedented resolution calling for measures aimed at world-wide total disarmament "in the shortest possible time."

### Four Belgian Congo Villages 'On March'

Few African villages in the Belgian Congo were yesterday reported preparing to march against soldiers and settlers in the Stanleyville region where at least 24 people were officially reported killed in week-end rioting. Several houses and plantations in the area were pillaged yesterday. (Reuters)

### Your Sympathy for Our Aims Will Encourage Us But YOUR VOTE WILL STRENGTHEN US

The Progressive Party

## A LAST MINUTE APPEAL VOTERS

A mere moment—and the envelope has been dropped into the ballot box. At that decisive moment, however, you will decide your fate, the fate of your kith and kin, the fate of Israel.

### DON'T DO TODAY WHAT YOU MAY REGRET TOMORROW

If you are satisfied with the current situation—vote for Mapai or its satellites; if you believe that demagoguery and adventurism are the answer to our situation—then vote for Herut.

If, however, it is the recovery of our State you seek, a safe future for yourself and your children—then you have only one alternative:

TO STRENGTHEN THE GENERAL ZIONISTS, PIONEERS AND FIGHTERS FOR A LIBERAL REGIME IN ISRAEL.

HERE IS OUR LAST MINUTE APPEAL TO YOU:

For your own future and that of your children—

**VOTE**

GENERAL ZIONISTS ORGANIZATION  
 Centre Party

**IKE-HOT OR COLD?**

This time the reference is not to the war of nerves, but to Telma's wonderful Borcht (Borst) Soup, which can be served hot or cold, according to taste.

You can prepare Telma's Borcht within 15 minutes, quite effortlessly. Its secret: Stromas peeling and boiling of beetroots. Everybody likes tasty Telma Borcht.















# GERSHON AGRON: A FIGHTER AND HUMANIST

## THREE EDITORIALS

### Birth of a Newspaper

December 1, 1932

The Palestine Post (with which is incorporated The Palestine Bulletin) has been entrusted to a new management. The sole object of the new management is to publish a daily paper responding to the needs and tastes of British residents, other Europeans and Palestinians. Their interests served in various degrees by the Arabic and Hebrew Press, the Palestinians, too, may find in this journal certain acceptable features obscured by the specific character of the newspapers in the other languages of the country.

Progress in the development of a newspaper must be gradual, and with an English journal in this country it must be still more gradual. The reading public is limited, the advertising field restricted; but such is the confidence of the Publishers in the future of this enterprise that they are prepared to produce the newspaper at a sacrifice. The Management will do its utmost to enhance the value of the publication for all classes, and will expect thereby substantially to increase the revenue. Time will show whether the country is ripe for a progressive newspaper as nearly as possible approaching the standard to which European readers have become accustomed.

Published in Jerusalem in the interests of the entire population of the

country, nothing Palestinian will be alien to The Palestine Post. Whilst endeavouring to bring the outer world nearer both to the Palestinian and to the foreign resident, it will be our constant aim to help the non-Palestinian to acquire a fuller understanding and a deeper affection towards a land which is enshrined in the hearts of most of the races of the earth and in which it is his privilege to live and to work.

The Palestine Post will not seek to promote personal ambitions or party advantage. Its reports will be as objective as is humanly possible, and its criticism informed, legitimate and helpful. In criticism and in reports, the studied purpose will be the present and future welfare of the country and of its people; and the Management will make no attempt to conceal its conviction that such welfare is best assured by a full realization of the British policy in Palestine as defined in the Mandate. Those supporting law and order, all those standing for progress, all those in sincere sympathy with the clear aims of the Policy, may expect this journal to bring them hope and encouragement. Those who seek by open or devious means to obstruct the policy of the Mandate may count on a fair presentation of their actions and views, but they can be given no other encouragement.



President Ben-Zvi, Mrs. Ben-Zvi, and Jerusalem Council members stand in tribute to Gershon Agron at the Jerusalem Municipality, where the late Mayor lay in state prior to the funeral yesterday.

### THE PEN AS A SWORD

This memorial supplement to The Jerusalem Post is from the pen of Gershon Agron, Editor, Mayor, fighter for freedom and justice. His three editorials on this page span a whole Zionist era: the founding of a newspaper for Palestine in 1932; the determined opposition to the White Paper of 1939; and the joyful voice of regeneration heard in the Jewish State.

The extracts from his address to the Mayors' Convention in Tokyo demonstrate his awareness of the problems of the rebuilding of Jerusalem and his desire to get on with the job. Extracts from other articles and speeches appear on the following pages.

## TASKS OF A MAYOR

From an address to the Mayors' Convention, Tokyo, October 1, 1958.

I COME of a people with a long memory, from a country with a history reaching back to the very beginnings of civilization, and from a capital whose uninterrupted, and recorded, chronicles are household words in all parts of the earth inhabited by man who knows where three of mankind's religions were cradled, and whence and how they spread. The Jews are a history-conscious people, if for no other reason than that they have served for some four millennia as both the bearers of a meaningful message and the martyrs to all the vicissitudes and tribulations that go with the advance and recoil of an idea. The State of Israel, until eight years ago known as Palestine, has its very roots in the dawn of history; and Jerusalem, its Capital today, is again where it was in the times of King David, the seed and seat of man's striving after a guided purposefulness that transcends the material and immediate.

Compared to astronomic Tokyo, Jerusalem is microscopic, but the problems we must seek to solve are of a pattern. At the Quinquennial Show I was struck as much by the candour and courage displayed by the Metropolitan Government in advertising to the world what remains imminently to be done or planned, as by the imaginative thoroughness that has gone to illustrate what so successfully has been done. Fearlessly and pitilessly you broadcast your civic faults. To quote the titles of some of the exhibits, your "Housing Problem—Shortage of Public Facilities"; "Degraded Traffic Conditions"; "Lack of Open Spaces"; "Degradation of Residential Quarters"; "Uncontrolled Development"; "Over-concentration of Population and Industry."

Who in this wide world is free of these drawbacks to decent, organized living of the multitudes? But the Tokyo authorities, only just emerging from a truly Herculean task of reconstruction, on what our Indian friends would probably call a Himalayan scale, have the moral courage to proclaim them; knowing that a correct diagnosis of social disease is half, or more, its cure.

And we are beset by the same problems, for, *mutatis mutandis*, we can, bar the scale, match your difficulties, one by one. You have, since the war's end, doubled Tokyo's population. So has

Jerusalem; so has the all of Israel. You have re-embraced your refugees; so have we, except that your returning exiles have come in the main from your own country, while the ingathering of our people extends from some countries in Eastern Europe to the wilderness of Arabia and the mountain fastness of North Africa. So, like you, we are challenged by the need for housing; driven by the need to create open spaces to serve as "lungs" for the people; haunted by squalid conditions; harassed by anxiety for the safety of people threatened with flood, or living in houses condemned as dangerous. We share your concern for uncontrolled development and, as you say, "over-concentration of population."

Through fair weather and foul, in sun and storm, and earthquake, we bear, as City Fathers, a solemn duty towards those entrusted in our keeping; and the more helpless, the clearer and sharper our task. Our job calls for dedicated skill of brain and brawn; for a compassionate heart, and an understanding mind, so that we can, even at the risk of some injustice to the few that are strong, be just to the many who are weak and in the need of care. Leadership requires the ability to care for the common man, as well as to count him for the purposes of election.

This is true of all cities; it is especially true in my Country and City, where we must constantly be on the alert and practise working always on two fronts, and seized with a kind of mass schizophrenia; our minds and hearts fixed on the double task of providing for a safe shelter and a better society for those Jews in need of a refuge, and defending a country beleaguered by its Arab neighbours to the North, South and East. As in the days of the Hebrew Prophet Nehemiah, so today: "Everyone with one of his hands wrought in the work and with the other hand held a sword."

Thus we are destined, until peace dawns—and may it dawn soon, soonest—to operate on two levels; the civic level which all Local Authorities share; and the plane of defence in the face of unrelenting emergency. This we are enabled to do, because we are given no choice, if we, and all that we have achieved, are to survive. And survive not only for our own sake; for we see ourselves in Israel, not a small and orphaned unit in the age of atomic cataclysm, but a bridge between civilization and culture.

## The Parting of the Ways

May 17, 1939

TONIGHT the people of this country will hear an announcement which will mark the end of one era and the beginning of another. Tonight the British Government will make public its intention to sacrifice Jewish rights to Arab intransigence; to take away all but their all from a people having next to nothing in order to add to the possessions of a people to whom much has been given; to dethrone justice and enthrone privilege; to substitute for the spiritual heritage of Balfour the mailed fist of the Mufti.

Two emotions—humiliation and hurt—will be evoked in every Jewish breast by the Pronouncement. As regards the first, however clear the intention to humiliate, the Jew has no call to nurse this feeling. Rather is this an occasion for pride, were this the time to indulge such emotion. For the Jew is being humiliated because he has succeeded where it was believed—and hoped—that he would fail. He is to be artificially dwarfed because otherwise he would grow beyond the limits set for him. This is not the caprice and callousness of another race. It is nothing new in the history of his people. His overlords and his masters have contrived long before this to legislate his growth, "lest they multiply..."

But if the Jew can master his sense of humiliation, he cannot overcome his sense of hurt. The blow to his pride might be borne, seeing that it is the result of a proud achievement, but not the blow to his being. This is not the injury the Jew must resent and must ward off. He has not the power that the Arab proteges of the Empire have, of menacing British interests. He has not the instinct that the Arab proteges of the Empire have for dark dealings with the Empire's enemies. And this not least, because so many of the things for which the British Empire stands are things which are precious to the Jew. For another, though he has lost faith in the British Government of today, he retains faith in the British people of today and in the Empire of tomorrow.

Nothing has more clearly shown the smallness of Jewish power, and the hollowness of the myth of his influence, than the Jew's inability in the last six months to stay the hand bent on his degradation. But if he has not the power to fight, nor the cunning for manoeuvring, he has the God-given

right and power to say "Yes" to what he thinks right and to give an emphatic "No" to what he thinks wrong. And an emphatic "No" by a people desperately clinging to their last hope of survival is no mean thing. It can wear many faces and take many shapes. It is a gradual process, in the course of which intentions are met with counter-intentions, paper pronouncements with counter-pronouncements and actions with re-actions and counter-actions. No one can say at what stage the emphatic "No" will galvanize an embittered people into positive action. Launched today on an era of non-cooperation, the Jews are from now on forced to devise means of defeating the Policy which is about to be imposed upon them. Every lover of the Holy Land will pray that a reversal of this policy can be brought about by non-violent action.

Inevitably this day of the parting of the ways must affect relations between peoples. The servants of the Empire, in duty bound to help carry the new Policy into effect, must understand that it is not for hatred of their Government or people, least of all for hostility to themselves, that the Jews are from today committed to a policy of disobedience, but out of hatred of this Policy. They who have enriched the country beyond anyone's dreams, they who had swelled the Government's exchequer for it to be drained by the violence of the Arabs, they are now set upon a course which may mean much privation for themselves and, in consequence, impoverishment for the country and its Government. The Jews had hoped that they would be able to make fruitful the land until no poverty or want remained. They had hoped to do this, not by drawing on wealth existing only in the imaginations of their enemies, but by pouring out the last ounce of their strength. All the amenities which exist here, and which exist in no Arab country, are the fruit of Jewish work which does not seek to enrich individuals but to widen the country's scope for assimilating homeless and penniless people for whom no room is left anywhere. They cannot renounce this right. To them "living space" is not an excuse for ruthless aggression. If by clinging to this right they place themselves outside the pale of the law, let the Briton sensible of a people's misery ask himself whether he, similarly placed, would not do the same.

## CREDO OF AN EDITOR

THE paper was born in the aftermath of the 1929 riots and the 1930 White Paper. It marched with the first wave of German immigrants thrown up by Hitler; through the 1933 riots which served as a prelude to the Arab revolt of 1936/39; the struggle over the Legislative Council down to the Second World War which witnessed the extermination of Europe's Jewry.

The paper always believed that the State would survive if it tolerated no religious or class war, and if it did not yield to Arab threats. The State was condemned to lead an ambivalent life—working and watching at the same time.

The Jerusalem Post tried to keep its readers in the picture as it developed day by day; always maintaining its fight for the minimum decencies in personal, public and international relations. The paper had been part of the Jewish people's front when it was fighting for its existence

and its rights, and was now trying to "front" for the country as a whole; and it always did this from Jerusalem as its base.

December 1957.

FREEDOM of the Press is best expressed in the spirit of liberty which allows for the other man being right.

Liberty is a glass wall, and only Totalitarians try to scale it, as the Prague trial showed. But an editor is like the commander of an army—he must be prepared to withstand those who criticize the manner in which he leads the army.

Independence is the right to decide on a given line and to stick to it, guided by conscience. It is compounded of respect for the other man's opinion and a willingness to listen as well as eagerness to be listened to. The degree of independence is the image of the man, as of a nation.

December 1958.

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## Third Independence Day

May 10, 1951

THERE is a song in every Jewish heart because three years ago an ancient and tortured people came into its own again. There is not a man or woman of Jewish birth or leaning on the face of the earth who does not feel ennobled because a handful—and half a million out of a possible remaining ten million is a mere handful—found the will and were able to summon the strength to reclaim their authority over themselves. Distinguished or not, articulate or condemned to silence, active on behalf of Israel or passively looking on, openly wearing this fresh prestige or secretly sharing in it: all Jews, high and low, rich and poor, proud and humble, free and enslaved, have for three years throbbled to the thrill of the new and dearly bought freedom.

There is a song in every Jewish heart, and it is a song for which some have paid with the lives of their children while some have given no more than the scales of the song. For many the song has been forced from the funeral pyres Hitler lit, and for some it is a blessing in the shape of an advantage or a windfall. For some the victory they sing had to be wrung from a callow world deaf to the hunger of a freedom-starved people, for others it is unearned gain and the fruit of good fortune.

The right to rejoice is a right that

will be denied to no Jew. The right to the fruits of the new freedom is a right that will be denied to no Jew. The right to pride is a right that will be denied to no Jew. Yet pride can be an engine generating energy or a trapping reflecting conceit. Pride without pain is a vain emotion. Which shall it be—pride that will move us to action, or pride that will hush us in self-sufficiency and self-esteem? This is the question every Jew must ask himself.

It will not be said of the Jews as a whole, of those in Israel least of all, that the transformation which is Israel has turned their heads; that the song in their hearts has led them to give themselves airs. But it must be said that our song requires, for an accompaniment, an explosion in people's heads. Tempo, temper and texture—all three— forbid us to relax in self-contentment. The task is prodigious, the time short and the exactions harsh. But the task is of historic grandeur, the time is what we prayed for, and the exactions, if they are borne in dignity, are but a small price to pay for an end to martyrdom.

Let the song in Jewish hearts ring out; let the explosion take place that will clear away all smallness of measure or vision; let there be pride deserving of the pangs of birth and the pains of growing up.



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# AGRON'S VISION OF A PEOPLE 'CONDEMNED TO GREATNESS'

## Bread, Troops and Trust Point to Israel's Way Ahead

From an address delivered at Dropsie College, Philadelphia, during Gershon Agron's 1947 visit to America. The introductory passages, not reproduced here, dealt with his early association with Philadelphia and with the College, a graduate school for Hebrew and Cognate (Semitic) Studies. After mentioning that for over 50 years, since leaving the United States, this country has been his country and Jerusalem his city, Mr. Agron said:

...What is this society I have seen emerging and shaping — what is its drive, content and purpose? Surely it is Jewish in all three. We are fertilizing a new civilization, resting on pillars of a tradition which, in conscious defiance of oppression and temptation, we carried for more than 20 centuries of dispersion. There have been times when among our ancestors there arose men of small faith and little courage who asked whether this burden under which they were crouching, and staggering, was not too heavy to bear. They could not know that at the end of the dark tunnel there was light, the light of liberation and sovereignty; that the dedication of a people to its purpose must be rewarded. When the Balfour Declaration came, in 1917, an illustrious Yiddish poet, Avraham Reisin, wrote that it was not a gift; it was an award wrested by the longings and prayers of generations. And Jewish State, the State of Israel, had been fought for and won, it represented a pattern fashioned out of the immediate chaos which the departing Mandatory had created; a crystallizing of a way of life that is Jewish, Jewishly distilled from old wine in old bottles, and which only called for swift and dramatic translation and adaptation to make it applicable to the exactions, exertions and disciplines of life in the Atomic Age.

### Socialism of the Bible

Mentally, we were prepared for this challenge. Of the tribute man pays to our Bible, the appreciation that it has exalted righteousness by making it readable is not the least worthy. Righteousness and justice are the very heart of the Bible's teaching, with the dignity of man as an inescapable, inevitable corollary. Before there was law in ancient Israel, "each man did as was right in his own eyes." A body of laws, regulations, controls and restrictions came as a check of the rugged individualist. These laws became economic blueprints and took the form of a social pattern which we should do well to apply this day. Twenty-five centuries back, we had private and cooperative businesses, to curb the appetites of the land-owning tycoon and swash-buckling industrial buccaneer. Take the Mosaic land-laws, and no agrarian reformer could improve on them. The Jubilee Year for the land, said a writer recently, "guaranteed minimum equality without repressing incentive... the return of the land to the original owner on the 50th year gave everyone a fresh start, but the intervening years allowed differential rewards on the basis of ability and industry."

Only in a democracy is human dignity respected. Our longing for Jerusalem was always bracketed with human freedom — "Next year in Jerusalem, we shall be free men." The striving after political freedom for the people as a whole always went hand in hand with the struggle for the social and economic well-being of the individual. The ancient State of Israel represented a synthesis, between the Jew's instinct for survival and a yearning for that dignity which only liberty can give. Whereas, in the modern world, and as recently as the Napoleonic wars, trade unions were declared illegal in England, and it required special legislation to make it legal for workers to combine in unions for collective bargaining, our old pattern was there. It was not that of a picturesque streamlined Utopia. We are moulding a society in which the basic freedom, the essential rights and minimum needs of every man and woman will be honoured and protected. Judaism never minimized the need for social thoughtfulness, writes Dr. Oscar Fasman in a series of admirable essays that form Dr. Leo Jung's compendium on "Israel of Tomorrow." The poor are not condemned to stay poor. In the "Republic" of Plato the members of the working class are chained to their class. The Anglican offers thanks for being born — and remaining — in a given station of life. Not so Judaism, which recognizes no inferior status as permanent, or as God-given station.

"It was a commonwealth (that Moses founded) in which none should be condemned to ceaseless toil, in which, in the absence of deep poverty, the main virtues that spring from personal independence should harden into a national character. It is not the protection of property, but the protection of humanity, that is the aim of the Mosaic code." These are the words of Henry George in his moving essay on Moses. The Rabbis, in keeping with this Mosaic spirit, took action against anti-social individuals, monopolistic practices, price fixing, and commercial exploitation. Even profits were limited by Judges in the Jewish cities.

In this tradition of righteousness (For remember, "Zion can be redeemed by righteousness only. Righteousness, righteousness shall thou pursue in order that thou shalt live and inherit the land") our authorities in Israel are acting today, when they go after the hoarder, the blackmarketer and the scalper. In this tradition, we conduct our land settlement. When Israel first went into Palestine, each family was given sufficient acreage from which its members, through the labour of its men and the cooperation of its women, might derive its sustenance. Labour colonization, beginning with Degania in 1908, the first kibbutz, to this day follows precisely this order. For what is our agricultural cooperative or commune but individual insurance and national saving? It is not a rigid and brutish Kolkhoz strait-jacket. It is an economic shortcut, on a collective scale, which seeks to plant the largest number of people on the smallest area in the shortest possible time and at the least cost. But for this system we should have needed far larger areas, much more money, and a great deal more time, to put on the land the num-

ber of people we did — at a time when the land, money and time did not work for us, but against us. But this is not all. The students, the intellectuals, the petty shopkeepers, inexperienced clerks, and Luftmenschen generally, who came in their trickles with the Second Aliya, at the beginning of this century, had to be trained, and there was but one farm school in Palestine then, at Mikveh Israel, and that was not open to adults. So the kibbutz, particularly after the 20's, served as a farm school, just as 30 years later, the Israel Defence Army came to be a school for citizens. This process was, of course, greatly assisted by that other Mosaic principle that the land could never be sold in perpetuity, that it belonged inalienably to the people, the whole of the Jewish people; and it was fitting that that land should serve as training ground for the idealistic but penniless pioneers, those rocks of will and fortitude we extol as Halutzim. Not until much later was something of this principle enshrined in the Atlantic Charter, which laid down a provision, on the basis of justice and equity, that every human being must be furnished with the tools for a livelihood.

### Pleasure in the Soil

Love of the land and the dignity of labour were among the attractive attributes of our old Jewish civilization. Recall Josephus in his "Against Apion," writing, "We have no pleasure in business; we till the ground, living our own life." Someone has calculated that more than a hundred of our Sages were working men. Craftsmen were among the chiefs of the Supreme Court. A High Priest was called from his stone-cutting to his great office, just as a king was called from his flocks. Our forefathers knew, too, of collective labour action and collective bargaining. Group arbitration was known in the 4th century. There were industrial courts that decided the right of the worker to down tools, though not many strikes are recorded, except for the perhaps isolated instance of a hapless Melamed who rebelled against the traditional penalty to which the profession somehow failed to add him. The claim to work was recognized, as of right and not on sufferance. The working man, looking for a living, was not to be at the mercy of the employer. Social services were at the disposal of the lame duck. "And if thy brother be waxen poor, and his hand fail him; then thou shalt uphold him: as a stranger and a sojourner shall he live with thee" (Lev. 25:35). Quoting this, Dr. Jung recalls the Midrash that "This is to be compared to a burden on a donkey. As long as it is on the donkey, one man may take hold of it and keep it there; but once it is down, five men may not be able to put it up again." One hesitates to let the German language fall from one's lips, but then Heine is different. It was the Hitlerites who burnt Heine's books and had decreed that his German was really Hebrew. See how right the Nazis were, in this inimitable satire:

Aber wenn du gar nichts hast, ach,  
dann lasse dich begraben,  
denn ein Recht zum Leben, Lump,  
haben nur die, die etwas haben.

Our old society was not designed to provide a Roman holiday for the fittest, physical or intellectual. The labourer had to be paid for his hire without delay ("neither shall the sun go down upon it" Deut. 24:15). Local Boards of Justice arbitrated conflicts over pay and conditions of work; and if the scholars consulted are right, there is no record of imprisonment for debt. Even the thief was given the chance to work off the amount he stole, and he could thus escape branding. Some of the ethical principles of the Jewish religion were accepted by the daughter religions, Christianity and Islam. "The greatest good for the greatest number" became the creed for a part of a part of the human family; it is the Talmudic principle of the suspension of individual privilege when it interferes with universal good. But the majority is not always right. "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil" (Exodus 23:2).

Today, in Israel, if humanly possible, we are determined to avert what has been called "the major problem of human unhappiness," the war between classes. Dare we hope for a class-less society? If not, my personal prejudice is in favour of the labouring class, on the "greatest good for the greatest number" principle. Prejudice was defined by the late Justice Holmes as the "articulate major premise": one is prejudiced in favour of fair conditions, and even grace, refinement and gracious living for all; and is prejudiced against too much plenty for the few. After our national revolution, there must come a spiritual one — away from the acceptance of the rule that is anyway going out of fashion, that the good things of life belong to the few, it is not in keeping with the times, and certainly not in keeping with our inherited teaching. Even economically, this would not be practicable. We have to compress into the space of a generation or so, the civic growth that elsewhere had been the outcome of centuries. For it is no longer a question of a "Jewish State in our time" but a "Jewish State in no time." And in this state, we shall have carefully to guard against the State becoming paramount rather than the citizen. How to keep the State strong without weakening the individual is, perhaps, the most challenging problem of our day, especially as everything is today regarded as the concern of the welfare state.

We are condemned, if not favoured, to act greatly, to do great things — in a hurry. We cannot afford half-measures. If it means the merciless application of the theory which one of our distinguished economists has called the "theory of comparative suffering," we cannot blanch and retreat. By the end of last month we added 85 per cent to our population as it stood at the outbreak of the Arab war. By the end of another month or two, our population will be double what it was in the middle of '48. We have taken in as many newcomers in the last 30 months as in the preceding 30 years; started as many agricultural settlements — 260



Gershon Agron (left) as the leader of the Israel delegation to the International Congress of Journalists at Prague in 1947.

to be exact — in these 30 months as in the 70 years before, counting 1881, the year of the Bilu, as the starting point. This has been achieved with a smaller number of unemployed than anywhere in the world. And this phenomenal progress parallels, for it must parallel, an unprecedented operation, "Operation Salvage" I have called it; but not salvage alone, integration is indivisibly part of the operation. In a very short time — how short nobody can tell — we must reverse the process of dispersion of 2,000 years — concentration in place of diffusion. The return from Iraq, once Mesopotamia, what is it but the Babylonian exile in reverse? We are redeeming the Jews from a land where the vaunted Arab hospitality and tolerance, which many always knew to be more shadowy than real, has not stood up to the test of humanity. We shall, as nearly as this can be done in the critically short time at our disposal, take the last Jew from the land between the Tigris and Euphrates; and having done so, shall lock the door on that asylum of some 25 centuries, and throw away the key — with some sorrow but without regret, and with a minimum of recrimination and only as much anger as, humanly, is to be expected. These strains and stresses and demands have followed, are following, our war of liberation. In an authentic estimate of £100m. as the cost of the war, we reckon to have squeezed out of ourselves, the citizens and residents of Israel, £70m.: £30m. coming from the Jews abroad, notably of course from these United States. And all the time the maximum means have been crucially short of our minimum requirements. We have yet to overcome the lesson Schmulkil Hefter, a member of the Tel Josef Kibbutz, tried to impart to Chaim Weizmann a quarter of a century ago. I happened to be present at that seminar in a silo, or stable, when Schmulkil, short and stocky, looking for all the world like a rock rolled down from the hills of Gilboa in the shadow of which we were sitting, said: "When we need a cow, and are allowed in our budget money for only half a cow, we do not buy a cow. We can neither buy, nor milk half a cow. We buy meat or milk, and in the end have neither money nor cow."

### Land and the Law

We have travelled some way from that economy, from the microscopic to the astronomic, from pilot plant to conveyor-belt production, so to speak, but are still paying, and for a long time must continue to pay the price of Operation Salvage. It's a hard row to hoe, and we must not make it harder by studding it with injustices flowing from inequalities. Only by the fuel of equality, the lubricant of social justice,

can we keep our giant pressure cooker boiling, a pressure cooker into which 1,000 new people are poured each day. We should do so if we were not Jews, and were sensible; As Jews we can do no other. "Love thy neighbour as thyself." "Thou shalt love him: he is thyself." And it was the revered Solomon Shechter who taught that you cannot love with another man's heart, not alone God, but your fellow man; another concept introduced by the Bible in the word "rea" (fellow). We are bringing in strangers, whom it is not hard to dislike, because of their unlikeness. So we must remember "thou wast a stranger in the land." They must not be exposed, these "strangers" from the Yemen, from Hadramaut, from Coch India, from Morocco, from Tunis, from Babylon, from Transylvania, from Rumania, from Afghanistan — they must not be exposed to the corrosions of inequality and under-privilege. If we do, we face the peril of England before the bloodless revolution now going on there, of a people divided into two, the upper and the lower, the educated and uneducated, the privileged and under-privileged, and even in language, the County and the Cockney. This is why, at home, we are forced to recognize that we are condemned to greatness, where no sights can be raised too high, where no taxation can be too lethal. For this is our enterprise, governed by the law of comparative suffering. "The law of the land is law" has been the guiding rule of Jewish life in dispersion: how much more so when the land is ours and the law ours. Thus a Jewish Socialist, Mr. Weinstein, writing in the "Jewish Frontier":

"We have gathered together not only the exiles, but the saving ideas of mankind, and are knitting them together in true ecletic Jewish fashion and adding the Jewish label — bearing the threefold signature of Israel, God and Torah. Whatever zealotry is manifest in Israel is largely in the spirit of the advocacy, not in the content of the cause advocated. And this is good, for the variety of impacts on Israel, and the open receptivity to these impacts, is creating a social structure which gives the lie to many of the harsh alternatives of history, the brittle Procrustean 'either-ors' on the sharp horns of which so much of quick human flesh has been unpeeled. Already we see in Israel that there is no mutual exclusiveness between private and collective enterprise. Grocery stores, clothing stores, cinemas, repair shops, beauty parlours, and all personal service industries are best managed privately; while buses, railroads, shipping, postal services are best run by the State. And there are enterprises like building construction which are jointly managed

by the State and private entrepreneurs, and some have a three-fold management of State, cooperative, and individual managers. There are some lands which are most usefully exploited by private ownership, some by cooperative management, some by completely communized colonies."

### Three Pillars of Society

Like all society, ours rests on Confucius' three pillars: Bread, Troops, Trust. Bread we must eat in austerity; Troops we must keep against Arab second rounds or imperialist appetites; and Trust, confidence among the returning exiles in our ability to shape our own destiny we can have only if we oppose to the perils of pigmentation the healing qualities of equality and freedom and opportunity — as has been done in this great and generous land. For we must have, if only as the price of the collaboration of the backward — they will not be backward for more than a generation — progress without poverty, progress without too many tears, and progress with only reasonable private profit. Hence our social services, our health and insurance system; hence the Histadrut, or Labour Federation, as an umbrella under which all who work and are organized (and they are about half Israel's population) are received, guided, taught, healed, protected, insured — from the cradle to the grave.

Rightness and righteousness are our watchwords also in international affairs, in our dealing with nations. Non-identification emblazoned on Israel's banner is not stony-hearted and wooden-headed. It is a self-ordained gift by a nation that must be free to decide what is right, and who, and what our true interests dictate. The Prophet Amos' denunciation of national cruelty is a pointer in this direction, and the Rabbis later laid down that righteousness exalts a nation. Jewish international law recognizes war only as a means to uphold the law, and it was to uphold the law of the United Nations, as well as in self-preservation, that little more than a half million Jews stood up to the Arab armies behind which there were 40 million. A war of defence requires no justification. And our action against Syrian murderers on the Hula needs no defence. No people has a greater interest than we in the preservation of international law — were not the first victims of the bestial Nazi lawlessness that has robbed us of a third of our number?

Were we then not the prime martyrs to what a writer has called, with crushing understatement, "the deficiencies in modern international law"? And we have always held that "the rights of neutral nations must be respected without qualifications," as Dr. Philip Biberfeld has written. The Israel Delegation's stand on Korea is illuminated by this principle: it is, too, consistent with our teaching that it is mandatory upon Jews to offer peace terms before opening hostilities. The day we were admitted to the United Nations, we knew our day had come, after a long night of waiting and a very cold dawn. We knew "this infant will grow to be great" — we knew we were condemned to have a hand, once more as a nation, in the New World Order. There were Little Israelites and Little Jews elsewhere who doubted the wisdom or efficacy of our participating in the conflict that overtook Lake Success. Spearheading them were dwarfs of various dimensions, who advocated a hands-off policy. We are not concerned with dwarves, big or little, bigger or littler, and whether a bigger dwarf is, in reality, the more microscopic one, is a metaphysical question which at this late hour had best be left. But if Israel's Ambassador needs fortifying (though his moral stature does well enough without special licence or charter) let him turn to II Samuel: "The root of Jesse who will stand as an ensign to the peoples, will judge between the nations and will decide for many peoples. There will no longer be need either for the instruments or the arts of war." President Truman carries Tennyson's "Locksley Hall" in his pocket, and his favourite verse has a very familiar sound to the Jew: "...the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe. And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law."

Here in halting and sketchy outline is the root of our social and international way. We have no choice and we must allow no mesh of doubt, hesitancy, or faltering across our vision. The changes that are shaking the world may bring us changes, for good or ill. Revolutionary change is taking place in us as a people: We are replacing self-consciousness with plain consciousness.

We know that we must go on and on, never recognizing the breaking point. Recognizing the breaking point is but one of the very many luxuries that the mandate of history does not allow us, and which in our self-inflicted austere regime we cannot indulge. For this reason, there never will be a breaking point. The task of fertilizing a new civilization, to which we and the Jews of the world have set our hand, must prosper.



Gershon and Ethel Agron distributing encyclopedias to children born in Jerusalem on the day of Israel's Declaration of Independence.

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# SDE BOKER and NASHVILLE

Gulf Between Israel and Western Jewry

From an article in The Jerusalem Post in the summer of 1934, on the occasion of a meeting of the Zionist General Council, to which Mr. Agron was a delegate, and which dealt with the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora.

THE separation between the State of Israel and the Jews outside Israel was born of the State, at the time of its emergence; and the recent meetings of the Zionist General Council and of the Ihud, or Zionist-Socialist Federation, did nothing to bridge the divide. It will be remembered that the ink was not yet dry on Israel's Declaration of Independence when Zionists, leaders in America began proclaiming their separatism from Israel. At the same time as they eagerly associated themselves with its material needs, moral purpose, and enthusiastically accepted its role as savior and ingatherer of Jews that had to be saved from among the broken remnants in Europe, or those imperilled in Arab lands, they took good care to make it plain that their responsibility ended there.

The year 1948 was the peak year in the mobilization of financial help for the State—in the Americas, in Britain, in South Africa, and everywhere else. In rallying, as they genuinely did, in giving of their means in a measure that has become the envy and despair of non-Jews, the Jews in the Western world had it impressed on them that they were in no sense affiliated with Israel. Except as helpers, advisers in certain of its operations, investors, and possibly also as remote control planners, their part was that of loving and anxious onlookers.

On Israel's side, at the same time, it was made abundantly clear that in sovereign Israel only its citizens could make the country's policies and laws, and that only those Jews who were its citizens were answerable for the new nation's conduct.

Neither the State nor Jewry has reason to reproach itself for this partial divorce, which implied the dissolution of a marriage that had not taken place and which did not deprive the State of the bed and board provided by the other party. The timing was perhaps a little unfortunate. It betrayed, on the American part, a measure of impatience and precipitancy, which might well have led to rejection if the danger of dual loyalty had materialized. Talk of separation began at the meeting of the Zionist General Council in Jerusalem late in the summer of 1948. Members of the Council coming from abroad travelled to Jerusalem by an ill-made road—the Road of Valour—in place of the highway lost to the Arabs when Latrun was abandoned. The city was short of power, water and food; and everything else in the new State, from the Provisional Government down, was makeshift and improvisation. The separation between the parents thus took place while the infant, and for all anybody knew, a premature infant, was still swathed in cotton wool.

## Volunteers in Times of Stress

It is not in the least profitable to inquire, six years later, into the compulsions that precipitated the division, or whether they were real or illusory, except to note in passing that it was proclaimed a fever of hate worthy perhaps of a better cause. For all that there was nothing startlingly new in the rash of pronouncements. American Zionism, ever ready to help, advise and, in the economic sphere, even to control from a distance; always geared for public action on behalf of the Jewish National Home; never failing to attempt to mobilize American opinion on its behalf—for all that, it was never part of the Yishuv, never more than an absentee partner. Personal participation was at all times a negligible quantity. The first Zionist Commission, in 1919, numbered two or three American Zionists. One of the first of the Zionist Executives to be formed, shortly after the First World War, had among its members an American Zionist with a commuter's ticket.

For the non-Zionist side of the Jewish Agency Executive, in 1929, three Americans were recruited—two of them leading Zionists, one from America and one from Germany. Jews coming from America to settle in Palestine were always an exception. Neither less nor more than Jews in other parts of the free world, American Jews have been a standing demonstration of the fact that the only mass migration is a forced migration; that, apart from idealists and the so-called maladjusted, the mass of people do not voluntarily pull up their own roots, however much they may envy and admire those that do.

Emergencies have stimulated personal participation. It was so towards the end of the First World War, when some 5,000 men in the U.S., Canada and Argentina volunteered for service with the Jewish Legion. It was so again in the War of Liberation, when from America hundreds came to the aid of the Hagana and proved their decisive worth in the ultimate victory. But barely a tenth of those who had come with the Legion in the First War stayed on after 1919, and not more than a handful of the gallant volunteers in the Arab-Israeli war are with us today. This is as true, in the main, of the volunteers from Britain, as it is of those from America, or from France; and only a little less true of the South Africans.

What it comes to is that Jews enjoying the security, comforts, prospects and opportunities of the free world are not inclined to exchange them for the widely advertised insecurity, discomforts, risks, and lack of opportunity in Israel. That many of those who have burnt their bridges and settled here have discovered, or made, opportunities; that some who have come to do good have done well by themselves, all this has had little effect on the stay-at-home Zionists, who find cherishing and sharing two quite distinct emotions.

In itself this is perhaps not unnatural. But this state of mind is evidence of a remoteness amounting to dissociation from Israel and all its works—an aloofness which renders

understandable, if it does not produce or cause, the urge for separation, and separatism, between the Jewry of the western world and Israel. And this attitude is linked with another, whether it springs from it or not—a detachment, compounded of querulousness concerning Israel, and a tendency to accept it on terms, if it is to be accepted at all.

Because the Western immigrant will not voluntarily renounce or be parted from his passport, language, standards, habits of life and of thought, his approach to the new country, for all the magic of its appeal and the challenge of its very hardships, is hesitant and finicking. Strangely enough, this goes for very many who, on the ground on which they were bred, were not notable for fastidiousness, and had little chance to exercise it. Always allowing for conspicuous exceptions, in the main they are martyrs to chronic schizophrenia. They cling to a mental reservation the size of their America, or Britain, or South Africa. The comparative ease and plenty they left behind grow and swell in their fancy with distance and time. Whether it beckons to them or not, there is always the attraction of the home they left behind them, and the enchantment of distant family and friendships. Disenchantment is often a matter of a return passage, or even its mere prospect; and total identification in the circumstances is all but impossible.

The mental reservation works both ways. The parents at home cleave to it no less than the self-exiled son or daughter. Any incident in Israel, any attack on the borders, or shots on the roads or in the towns, will produce a sheaf of come-home cables and letters from families asking whether the son or daughter here has not had enough, and pointing out that the perilous life is for other parents' children.

Nor is wailing Palestine, and now Israel, on terms a recent departure. As early as 1920, in London, at the first World Zionist Conference after the First War, the best of American Zionists, and the noblest, conditioned their Zionism on Palestine being able to live up to certain irreducible standards—in financing, and administration, in healthful conditions, and in social behaviour. Brandeis and his friends did not openly insist on Palestine being created in the American image, but it was plain to see that a Palestine not so fashioned was not quite their idea or ideal. In essence, this was the quarrel between Weizmann and Brandeis, between Pinsk and Washington, as so aptly epitomized at the time.

## Twin Pillars in Free World

Today the difference may be expressed in terms of Sde Boker and Nashville, Tennessee. Nashville is the home of the recently elected President of the Zionist Organization of America. Whether perfectionist Zionist or not, Mr. Mortimer May has warned us that to claim, as Mr. Ben-Gurion does from Sde Boker, that a Jew is entitled to call himself a Zionist only if he makes Zion his home, is more likely to repel American Zionists than attract them. And Mr. May, who has been made American Zionist spokesman only in recent weeks, echoes what Zionist tribunes in America say who have given their lives to the Movement.

When Mr. Baruch Zuckerman, a teacher and preacher of Socialist Zionism in America for nearly half-a-century, affirms, as at Beit Berl during the meeting of the Socialist Zionist Confederation, that a good Jewish school in America which inculcates Jewish national values is as needful and important as a new border settlement in Israel, he is in effect repeating what the President of the ZOA has said: that it is as useful and important for a Jew to be a good Jew in America as for a Zionist to settle in Israel, and that it is to Israel's ultimate advantage that there should be good Jews in America.

Both Mr. Zuckerman and Mr. May, out of a Jewish consciousness of varying depth, it is true, are at least as mindful of the Jewish future in America as of Israel's future. In fact, Mr. Zuckerman pleaded that both on the long and short-range view it was essential to let American Jews be. If, on short range (he argued) Israel's very security depended on Jews from America coming here to augment Israel's strength, then we must resign ourselves to Israel not being secure, because there was not the least likelihood of any such numbers coming from America as to contribute perceptibly to Israel's manpower. And on the long range, Israel must recognize that the Jewish world rests on twin pillars: Israel, and Jewry in the free world. Any weakening of Jewry is a weakening of Israel, whether through assimilation or another form of attrition. American Jewry must therefore be permitted to find its own Jewish way, for its own sake, and for Israel's, without the embarrassment of claims it cannot or will not meet.

That by this reasoning he is exposing Israel to extinction, assuming Israel to need numbers of Jews from America to maintain its existence, Mr. Zuckerman will not perhaps admit; and if he did, he could only reassert that, however deplorable, it was a fact that if Israel's present or future depended on the personal participation of numbers of Jews from America, then neither its present nor its future could be assured.

None will dispute Mr. Zuckerman's twin-pillar credo. It is hard to conceive of anything more disastrous to Israel than a weakening of Western Jewry, whether on the civic, political or economic front. But Mr. Zuckerman would be the last to claim that if a tithe of a tithe of American Jewry were to find their way here and be assimilated here, American Jewry would be impoverished. If numbers are decisive, then the departure of 50,000 a year, assuming such an astronomical improbability, would be more than balanced by the natural increase, and America's total Jewish strength would be unimpaired.

American Jews, in particular—and Zionists most vociferously—refuse to regard their homes in the Diaspora as anything but home. They insist they are not exiles, and America as Galut. They file not only

at the word Galut, they reject also Tfutrot (dispersion) as a description of their status. They dislike intensely the late Haim Greenberg's distinction between the Diaspora being a dark night, in countries of oppression, or a moonlight night in the free countries. America is no mere domicile, and if hard-driven Israel were to raise the age-old question, "From whence cometh my help?" the answer, in terms of manpower, might well be, "not from here."

## Need to Stimulate Pioneering

On the surface, then, there is not much to choose between the Western contingent at the Zionist General Council meeting and those who remained or had come for the Conference of the Confederation of Zionist Socialists. There was a parallel insistence on intensification of Jewish life in the Western world, and a corresponding withdrawal from the Israelis' claim to personal participation on a mass scale. Both tended to by-pass the possibility that, in an emergency, thousands would again rush to Israel's aid.

Yet there was a difference. Whereas the American contingent at the Zionist General Council agreed with some reluctance to a form of national education which might, as a by-product, yield individual halutzim, the Zionist Socialists agreed it was their duty to promote halutzim. Whether this emphasis alone will bring halutzim remains to be seen, and if the past is a guide to the future, the result will be impressive. The insignificant yield is perhaps no reproach to either those calling themselves General Zionists, or Socialist Zionists. If stimulating halutzim is a spontaneous function of the State, the State has failed in this instantaneous task not less than the Zionists in the Western world. If it is a lack of educational processes, Israel is as much to blame as the Zionists.

Israel, eager for halutzim from the West, has failed as signally in this phase of public relations as have these Zionists whose readiness to recruit halutzim is tempered by a persuasion (active in the case of General Zionists and perhaps ruefully and reluctantly accepted in the case of Socialist Zionists) that there are no halutzim to attract. This common assumption produces an agony of mind and of heart which makes men and women in both camps blench before challenge and shy away from debate.

The Zionist Movement, guided by Israel and driven by the direct of its needs, can retrieve itself by engaging on two parallel public relations endeavours. It should strive to endear Israel to the world at large, and the Jewish people wherever they are to be found, leaving to the Government of Israel the task of evoking the utmost loyalty of its citizens to their own State. So far, neither the State nor the Movement has displayed conspicuous ability in either field.

On a global plane, we have yet to produce a novel which will do for Israel what, to take an example, Pearl Buck's "Good Earth" has done for China; or such a "natural" for a film as this story of Miss Buck's turned out to be. We have relied excessively on the printed word, in an age when radio and television are supplanting it; and even in this area we are inbred and preaching to the converted, with the world becoming aware of us only when there is an explosion in Israel loud enough to erupt in the world's vision; or when we appear as petitioners or offenders; or when we figure, involuntarily, as a pawn in the game played by the great powers.

When we have touched even the outer reaches of world opinion, we shall have put ourselves over to the Jewish people as well. When Jews learn to appreciate that loyalty to Israel raises no spectre of double allegiance, Zionism will be given a fresh start, with the hesitations and fears breeding aloofness dissolving with the mists. Then, and then only, can we hope that Jews will identify themselves closely, intimately and personally with Israel's trials and fortunes, its advance and retreat, its trials and its errors. Zionism as a way of life will then come into its own—as seen from Sde Boker in the Negev, and not from Nashville, Tennessee.

# TONIC OF THE WILDERNESS

From an article by Gordon Agron in The Jerusalem Post of November 29, 1934, written following a tour of the Negev with a U.S. Operations Mission party.

EROSION has traced magnificent patterns in the uplands of the Negev. But these unbelievable formations are evidence of death. The lands are dead lands, Badlands, as they are called in America; killed by wars, famine, and pestilence.

What look like crazy and decaying Castles, shaped by the sweep and swoop of storm waters, feast the eye, and are some reward for the desolation. Not so the so-called "ceramics" or pavements of hundreds upon hundreds of square miles formed of gravel turned into almost coal-black cinders. These convey neither consolation nor hope. Nor do the mud-flows deposited by the storms bringing down what is left of earth in the foothills, whenever and wherever there is a great run-off. And this happens year in year out during the rains, as it has happened for scores of centuries before.

Yet the Negev is not entirely dead. Livestock trails witness to the fact that these bad, dead lands can support life. And the gazelle streaking across the razor-edged jagged ridges at sixty miles an hour are more evidence that life, for the animal kingdom at least, is supportable. Camels graze off shrub in the mud-flows, but not in the ceramic pavement; and so do sheep and goats. And where there is a water hole, and of these there are not a few, the desert feeds man too. Here and there in the flatlands are grain pits dug by the nomad Beduin. The tribes come back there year after year, except in years of drought, to sow and to reap. The grain is inviolate. Desert law and desert lore are a guarantee against one tribe of the wilderness sipping the fruit of the labour of another.

## Empty Triangle

But emptiness is the mark of the Makhshim—the great dust bowl called Ramon, and Hatira and Hatzera, the smaller ones. It is so in the wilderness of Zin, and almost everywhere else in the inverted triangle formed of the two lines marking the frontier with Egypt to the west and Jordan to the east.

Everywhere—except at Wadi Radyan, now again called Yatbatah, on the way to Eilat; the Ein Gedi oasis; Ein Yahav on the road from Eilat to Ein Husbab (now Hotzev); and of course Mash'abim, where water is stored to make the land produce crops. Here, young settlers aided by watchers, developers and keepers from the appropriate Government Departments are providing some sort of promising answer to the devastation.

Furrow irrigation, border irrigation, sprinkler irrigation, tried out by men and women who have chosen the tonic of the wilderness, are yielding results. The salt is being leached from the soil and the soil sweetened. These processes in one crude form or another were known to the Nabateans, and later taken up by the Byzantines. But since then, all but a twentieth part of the rainfall has run to waste, and the sown or partly sown turned into desert.

Tiny points of settlement, from Sde Boker down, are, some of them, within a few miles of the borders east and west. The pioneers are intimidated neither by the traffic visible across the frontiers, nor by the forbidding soil. Their concern is with methods of irrigation. They listen to everybody who has anything to say, and learn. They have learned the tremendous fact that saline soil in itself is no hindrance.

Tomato stalks growing under bunches of the green fruit are evidence, as at Wadi Radyan, that man can turn salty land into sweet. At Ein Gedi, winter tomatoes have brought the mad settlers fabulous revenue.

The problem is whether you are to sprinkle or to collect water in furrows. "Don't always sprinkle," admonishes the fatherly expert sent by the U.S. Operations Mission to help, encourage and advise; "use surface irrigation; look for underground water. It may cost you

IL15,000 to dig a well, and if it must be abandoned because it turns to be a waterless hole, you have lost IL15,000. If you strike water, you have made a million."

Hearing this, you feel the stirrings of hope even for the ceramic pavements. The desert invites dreams, and you dream of giant bulldozers scraping away the layer of cinders not more than a couple of inches above the surface, until dirt that pays is bared, with irrigation of course. This kind of development, fanciful perhaps to the calculating economist, is called cataclysmic, and very appropriately so called. The land waits for the cataclysmic operation, and approach. It thirsts for water from rains that are stored and not wasted; a liquid redeemer.

As has been said, the Nabateans knew the secret, and so did the people of the Byzantine times. At Ein Avdat (Abde), there are deep caves hewn out of rock, with their mouths wide open to receive the rain-water. The Beduin either know where the cisterns are, or an unerring instinct leads them there. (Within the last few weeks, a Beduin woman who went to the biggest of these cisterns to drink or to fetch water drowned there.) And now young Israeli men and women from the smoother and sicker parts of the country are learning these secrets too.

It does not take long for people from towns to become what, in the Western Desert during World War II, were called "desert rats," and in our own Negev war "desert beasts." They absorb a lot of sand with every breath and each mouthful, they are fairly smothered in it, but it does not take long to learn that a jeep can sprint like a goat, and a four-wheel drive vehicle do as well as a camel. They learn to get along without washing and other amenities. The ground is their bed, the rifle their best friend. And the amazing and heartening thing is that if there are not enough of young people in Nabal and other groups, there is no complete dearth of them.

We were on an escarpment looking down Yatbatah Valley. From nowhere there appeared a boy and a girl, on foot. There was a rifle swung over the youth's shoulder. The girl, in a blue blouse and very abbreviated bloomers, clutched a hand-grenade. The rifle was the young man's only luggage. The young woman such a one as John Strachey saw near Sde Boker, and described as whip-cord sharp—had no kit, cosmetic or any other kind; only the hand-grenade. The two had started at dawn that morning from Yatbatah, up the rugged cliffs, looking for a path to shorten the way down their valley. He was a discharged soldier who had served in the Negev with a company of road scouts, of whom some were our party's escort. He is now a "moshavnik" at Avihail, near Natanya. Where the girl had gone back to, on finishing

her service, one did not learn. But the young man had just finished harvesting his tangerine crop and was taking a few days off, with his old bunch, path-finding in the Negev hills. You looked at these two scouts, without rucksack or water bottle, or food, and concluded that it takes all kinds to make Israel's youth.

## Between Two Countries

At night, on a tug-boat in the Gulf of Eilat, you are between two sets of lights—Akaba's to the east, and those you have left behind to the west. Do they twinkle at each other in animated friendliness or suspended hostility? It is not of course all one to the people on the tug-boat during a water outing. Resident and visitor alike are pining for animated friendliness. But in the still night, with the water lapping gently against your craft, your thoughts are turned elsewhere. You think of the hills you had seen all day from the wadis of the Arava; the hills of Edom to the east, your own Ysaalon to the west, both bathed in the purple of Nu-bean limestone.

You remember Petra, the "rose-red city half as old as time," and its fine chiselled altars, but you don't envy it. During the day you had seen similar formations of rose-coloured limestone near Solomon's Mines; and where the Israel Mining Syndicate is at work, at Timna. And when you have seen the hills, you know why the sea is red: the water is a reflection of their hue. Nor do you envy the blueness of the Danube or the muddiness of the Mississippi.

## The Jewish Agency for Palestine

Notes to Holders of 8% Debentures (Linked to the Cost-of-Living Index) 1931-1971.

In view of the fact that the Consumers' Price Index for the month of September, 1939, as published by the Central Bureau of Statistics, does not include fruit and vegetables, the Agency has consulted with a representative of the Ministry of Finance (guardian of the above Debentures), with a trust company of the Bank Leumi Le-Israel (trustee for the holders of the above Bearer Debentures) and with a trust company of the Workers' Bank Ltd. (trustee for the above Bearer Debentures) in order to establish the rate of interest of the above Debentures on November 7, 1939.

In order to avoid delay in the payment of interest, it has been decided that the Agency now pay interest on the basis of 100 points (Basic Index) until such time as the difference, if any, and the extent to which it affects the rate of payment in accordance with the linking conditions of the Debentures, have been established finally.

Adjustment of the difference, if any, will be effected: For Non-negotiable Debentures: with those holders whose names appear in the Register of Debenture Holders on closing date, October 22, 1939.

For Bearer Debentures: Anyone presenting the interest coupon when due, after allowing the final establishment of the difference.

Inhabitants of Tel Aviv  
People of Israel:  
**YOUR CANDIDATE FOR  
Mayor of Tel Aviv:  
Mordechai Chaim Stern**  
YOUR  
KNESSET  
and  
MUNICIPALITY  
LISTS:

**THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY**

**Today You Will Elect**

**Not Merely A Knesset  
But Your Government**

**REMEMBER**

A vote for Herut will **HELP**  
to vote the socialists into power.

A vote for the General Zionists will help

**PREVENT**

the creation of a socialist government.

HERE IS YOUR CHANCE TO CHOOSE  
BETWEEN SOCIALISM AND FREEDOM—

**VOTE FOR FREEDOM**

**TODAY ONLY**

Will you be able to repair the damage done to the State.  
Today is the day your vote will speak for you

**TOMORROW IS TOO LATE**

This is your only chance to have a direct say in the affairs of the State, in its way of life.

**IT IS UP TO YOU**

<b>VOTE FOR:</b>	<b>VOTE AGAINST:</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A State of Israel which will strive to uphold the Jewish Law.</li> <li>• Religious Marriage.</li> <li>• Religious education—in elementary, secondary, vocational and agricultural schools.</li> <li>• Observance of the Sabbath and Kashrut.</li> <li>• Improved religious services.</li> <li>• Full equality for all citizens.</li> <li>• Protection of middle class interests.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The flooding of the country with non-Jews not properly converted to Judaism in accordance with the Law.</li> <li>• Mixed marriages.</li> <li>• One-Party Rule.</li> <li>• The conscription of women.</li> <li>• Discrimination among the nations.</li> </ul>

**VOTE FOR US**

חזית דתית לאומית

המחנה הרוחני והמחנה המעשי





## GERSHON AGRON'S JERUSALEM



Mayor Agron set himself the task of making people of all classes and creeds feel at home in the Capital. The recently completed Gan Atzmaut (above and left) is a boon to the city's children. The late Mayor was a charming host to visitors, and is seen below with Queen Elizabeth of Belgium. At left, below, he talks with Father Rudloff, Prior of the Dormition Abbey on Mt. Zion. He was friend to clergy of all faiths.



Agron remained in Jerusalem throughout the siege and his courage was an example to all. An old soldier, he took an active interest in the security of his border city, and is seen at right taking part in an air raid precaution exercise.



Gershon Agron speaking at the "Vocal Newspaper" in Jerusalem in May 1949, as Editor of the then "Palestine Post." Seated from left to right are Nahum Goldmann, Daniel Auster, then Mayor, and the Jerusalem Commander at the time, Span-Aluf Moshe Dayan.

## 'We the Jews Of Eretz Yisrael'

By MEYER W. WEISGAL

NONE of the public facets that Gershon had was the facet of the Gershon whom I knew. My relationship with him for almost fifty years was much more personal than his entry into the archives of history would justify.

For me, he was not the young journalist whom I first met in New York in the early 'teens of this century, the ardent volunteer in the Jewish Legion, the pioneer settler in Eretz-Yisrael, the editor, speaker, Yishuv emissary to the Diaspora, Israel Government spokesman and, finally, Mayor of Jerusalem. Gershon was more than these to me. It was as the close friend of our youth, when we dreamed and hoped and aspired together and — in the fullness of time — achieved and fulfilled together but some of them; the ones that were rich in spirit.

Gershon became part of the fabric of my life from the moment of our first encounter on the early American Zionist scene in New York. We were both newspapermen, we were both pupils and followers of the beloved Louis Lipsky. We were both to become disciples and friends of the great Chaim Weizmann.

One of Gershon's acts that evoked my deep admiration was, I think, when he adopted Palestinian nationality at a time when the forwarding of a gilded citizenship like American was hardly widespread nor was considered politic. Gershon had a simple formula for this: "Whenever I say 'we' in the columns of *The Palestine Post*, I want it to be meaningful, and the 'we' to be more than an editorial term. I must mean 'We the Yishuv, the Jews of Eretz-Yisrael.' He had thrown in his lot with the Yishuv, and it was a lasting dedication.

MEMORIES play peculiar tricks. In looking back over a span of years which stretches as far back as 1914, when I returned with my father and mother from our first trip to Palestine, I remember a youthful Gershon who stood in awe of people who had actually been to Jerusalem.

Those were the days when a group of young Philadelphians with Gershon in the vanguard used to talk on street corners, knock at back doors of lodge meetings and make impassioned pleas for a Zion that was far more distant than the moon is from the earth today. The enthusiasm, the faith, the charm and the humanity with which Gershon attacked the germ of the Zionist idea in those days never left him through all the years of struggle and battle which led to the reality of Israel.

Jerusalem was Gershon's spiritual home. It early became his physical home. Probably the greatest moment in his life was when he became the steward of The City, and was able to preside over its destiny. He approached his job with a great humility which came from a deep love for things in the past, and great, high hopes and confidence in the Jewish future.

But Gershon's chief genius was for life itself and his ability to transmit to others his zest for the things he wanted most in life. His high hopes for his people, his courage and his inspiration will not be lost to those of us who were privileged to be his associates, his friends, to work with him and to love him.

## A GENIUS FOR FRIENDSHIP

By ABBA EBAN

Jerusalem remembers the days of her affliction and of her anguish. All the treasures that she had from the days of old...

The hammer of grief seems to be striking with growing strength. Here is a sorrow of staggering violence; swift, profound, and despite the ominous shadow of recent weeks — unexpected.

A broad gap adds out in so many fields of our nation's life. Our journalism loses its doyen — the only leading pioneer with 40 years of service stretching back to our community's primordial days. But Gershon's chief attribute was not his length of service. It resided in the immaculate dignity of his standards. Forty years — and never a cheap or shoddy or evasive word has polluted the journal which he conceived, begat and nurtured. In its pages we see the whole Israel paganist unroll; and across the narrative shines Gershon's beaming face, aglow with pride at every forward step and attending every dark hour with buoyant spirit.

In the bleakest days of the '40's, when the heart was almost strangled with wrath and frustration, I recall the comfort to be found on the second floor of the Post's building in the midnight hours, when the rest of Jerusalem slept. For those beyond the intimate circle — which for this generous man was very wide — there were Friday evenings at 4 Roshna where Jerusalem and the wider world would come together with all barriers left behind.

Jerusalem. This was his ultimate passion. He came to it circuitously, via Russian childhood and Philadelphia adolescence, but once he met Jerusalem the covenant was struck forever — not to be sundered even by the blade of death. I remember our last encounter this summer, before the shadows began to gather, in the presence of Jerusalem throngs upon whom, in all their variety and tumult, he looked with fatherly grace. He fought against the dirt and squalor and scored some vivid triumphs. With but a few more years he would have seen the final victory.

Other images come to mind in this hour of retrospect. Gershon in the political arena — the authentic democrat and non-conformist. Gershon in American cities and villages bringing the word of Israel and Jerusalem to audiences from coast to coast. Gershon in the heart of his family. Gershon

in social brotherhood — an unflinching stimulus to free talk on high issues. All these Gershons in their passing will leave their void.

Those of us who knew his friendship lose something beyond replacement. Friendship, like everything else, can be pursued with mere competence — or, in rare cases, with special grace and intensity which belong to the genius of art. Gershon was touched with the genius for friendship; and it is in that quality that his friends salute a memory which, for them, will never die.

## THE MAGICIAN

By Rina Dufni

I AM sure that very little of Gershon is accurate. Certainly, it was in London and I was very small. The Agrons came to visit my parents and brought me a large and extraordinary ball, and then Gershon took it and me for a walk.

For years afterwards, I remembered a man in a broad-brimmed black hat, with a cloak and a waiting servant, patiently showing me the tiny animals and letters embossed on the ball, making me see that nothing was quite as it first appeared to be.

Perhaps, after all the facets of Gershon Agron's personality have been assessed and related one to the other, after the sorrowful appreciations have been made of his role in this country, after his unusual career has been analyzed and extolled; this ability to endow his own convictions about life — or Zionism — or the duty of a newspaperman to his society — with colour and excitement so that they became irresistible to others — is the thing that most people in Israel — and hundreds abroad — will recall most vividly.

education of a great many lesser "Anglo-Saxons" who came to Palestine. Learning from Gershon had nothing whatsoever to do with agreeing with him. It had everything to do with seeing clearly and shedding attitudes of inhibition or doubt.

There was no limit to the effort he was prepared to make so that others, if they at all interested him, became aware. Neither their status, nor their age, nor their nationality mattered.

I saw Gershon for the last time a year ago — on Yom Kippur. I took my children to visit him. They had never met a mayor before and they were reasonably deferential. Most of all, they were enchanted by the attention with which he conversed with them.

He was on his way to synagogue. It was altogether characteristic that he invited them to go with him. I watched them walk down the road; Gershon in a broad-brimmed black hat, a child on each side. He was explaining the service to them, gravely, making something complex and heavy available to them, for ever, I called out "Shalom" but all three were absorbed.

One thing that Gershon taught me when I worked for him was to write down what I thought without worrying whether people would consider it sentimental.

It is in this spirit, in Gershon's absence, that I write about the loss, and am glad that he bothered to teach something, however briefly, to two children who may also remember him as if he were a flowing cloak and was, in fact, a kind of magician.

I suppose Gershon was a teacher, actually — an unconventional and brilliant one. He used his paper, in those years, to teach, and that was the source of his excellence and ardour.

He taught without effort but with compulsion. To be taken by him for a walk through Jerusalem was to learn at a dizzying pace. The city turned into a whole series of concepts and legends, its purposes and destiny were revealed in a score of ways, but never with pedantry nor without Gershon's immense, marvellous prejudices.

A whole city was made into a ball to be investigated and turned from side to side and then its intimate wonders would become manifest.

Working for Gershon amounted to the same thing. It was part of the essential

## Friday Nights

IF anything is vivid in my recollection of the Agron household three and four decades ago, it is the extent of their hospitality. "Friday nights at Gershon and Ethel's" was a Jerusalem institution in the mid-20's and later, both at the Bezalel Quarter home and in their house which is now part of the Israel Broadcasting Service studios in Queen Melisande Street. Everyone had a standing invitation to these occasions. Anyone who gave the excuse of "I wasn't asked" when taxed with his (or her) absence was regaled with Gershon's genial abuse.

One of his early ventures was to found the Foreign Press Association, of which the late Canon Herbert Danby was Chairman, the late Elias M. Epstein the Vice-Chairman, and Gershon the secretary-treasurer. It was a small body in the '20s — I believe it began functioning in 1924 — but it kept in touch with current affairs and personalities.

## A WHOLE MAN

HE never failed to encourage talent; his heart went out to those who could write; he made short shrift of those who could not and aspired to torment the public eye. But his real anger was stored up for those who held in light the power of the printed word.

Agron was fond of his Bible, which he knew and often quoted; the wisdom of the ages was to him. He managed to exclude them from his life, and he was perpetually impatient with those whose vision was opaque or limited.

I saw him again while I was growing up; on visits to Jerusalem and sometimes in Tel Aviv. There was no cloak after all. Not a real one; but there should have been, and I always pretended that it flew from his shoulders.

Those were the years of

Julian L. Meltzer  
Arthur Saul Super

The Daily Newspaper Publishers Association of Israel deeply mourns the death of

**GERSHON AGRON**

and extend their deepest sympathies to the family and *The Jerusalem Post*

Together with the country's journalists, we deeply mourn the death of the founder, publisher and first editor of *The Jerusalem Post*, a great journalist and man of action

**GERSHON AGRON**

and express our profound sympathy to the bereaved family in its great loss.

Israel Advertising Association

Together with his family and the citizens of Israel's capital, we mourn the untimely passing of a noble man of manifold achievements

**GERSHON AGRON**

Member of our Board of Directors We shall erect a fitting monument to his memory in our efforts to promote the continued development of Jerusalem.

Jerusalem Economic Corporation Ltd.

To the Agron Family

We share your grief on the passing away of your dear

**Gershon Agron**

Tel Aviv/Pittsfield, Mass.

THE MONILLS

We mourn

**GERSHON AGRON**

GOOD AND FAITHFUL SERVANT OF THE HOLY CITY

The Advisory & Community Committees of the Y.M.C.A., Jerusalem

## ISRAEL-AMERICA SOCIETY

offers heartfelt condolences to the bereaved family and to the Municipality of Jerusalem on the untimely death of our friend

**GERSHON AGRON**

former Chairman, Jerusalem Branch of the Society.

The Youth Aliyah Department of the Jewish Agency

mourns the passing of its faithful friend

**GERSHON AGRON**

MAYOR OF JERUSALEM

and extends condolences to his widow,

ETHEL.

member of the Management Board of Youth Aliyah, and to the bereaved family.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND MANAGEMENT OF

Keren Hayesod

The United Israel Appeal

mourns the death of

**Gershon Agron**

Mayor of Jerusalem, faithful friend of the Appeal, and frequent campaigner on behalf of the Appeal in the Diaspora, and extends its deepest condolences to his family.

The Israel Executive Of The World Jewish Congress

MOURNS THE UNTIMELY PASSING OF

**Gershon Agron**

and extends its deepest sympathies to the bereaved family.

The World Zionist Organization

mourns the untimely death

of the Pioneer of American Aliyah,

a faithful emissary of the Zionist

movement in the Diaspora, and

Mayor of the City of Jerusalem

**Gershon Agron**

The World Wizo Executive

deeply mourns the passing away of

**GERSHON AGRON**

and joins the family, the City and the Nation

in their grief.

Rebecca D. Sieff

President

Rosa Ginosar

Chairman

Our heartfelt sympathy

to DANIEL AGRON

on the death of his father

**GERSHON AGRON**

BEDEK AIRCRAFT, LOD

To the AGRON FAMILY and THE JERUSALEM POST

our condolences at the passing of

**GERSHON AGRON**

a great and noble man.

Bronfman's Agency Ltd.

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The Citizens of Nahariya

deeply mourn

the passing away of

**Gershon Agron**

distinguished Mayor of Jerusalem

Gershon Tatz — Mayor,

and the

Nahariya Local Council

We mourn the death of

**GERSHON AGRON**

A great, beloved personality,

and share the deep grief of

Ethel Agron and family.

THE RABINOVITZ, AGRONSKY AND REIZER FAMILIES